WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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Socialism

SHOULD WOMEN SUPPORT IT?

By Marcia.

"It seems to me that the Socialists are just about right."

"Oh, bother you and the Socialists," came an irritable interruption; "It's all through your dark that Jim got in with them, and now," and here the voice died away in a strangled sob.

The speakers were two girls, and they were seated in a small room rather barely furnished as a bedroom. They shared it between them, as the price, 10/-, was too expensive for either of them singly; both girls being waitresses in a city restaurant.

They worked from 7 o'clock in the morning to the same hour at night; they generally had an couple of hours off in the afternoon, but that was occupied in trying their gowns, or washing and ironing aprons. The princely wage of £1 per week leaves very little margin for laundry bills.

The first speaker, Daisy Brown, who had just entered the room, crossed quickly over to her companion and said quietly, "What's up?"

The other girl raised her head defiantly and tossed one shoe across the room.

"Oh, nothing. I've finished up with Jim," that's all."

"Why Alice," and Daisy's voice echoed her surprise.

"You don't mean to say that you've really quarrelled?" For Alice's lover, Jim Martin, was well known to be deeply attached to her, and was the envy of all her friends.

"Yes, I've given him up, he's joined the Socialists, and he won't give them up, and so if he likes them better than me, well, he can keep them," and this time the other shoe flew across the room.

"But why do you want him to give up Socialism? It won't hurt him!"

"Oh! We know, Daisy, that your boy has dragged you there, and you're believing what he tells you, but I'm not so silly; I've realised that they're no good; the men are never in work; they are always losing their jobs through their opinions, they abuse marriage laws; before [illegible] and, above all, they are always out at meetings or something, and these girls hardly see them. I'm not going to sacrifice my life to a cause that's no better to anybody, so there!"

Daisy was quiet for a moment, but at length she said quietly, "Well, it's for you to say; I am only just learning myself; but as regards marriage, the usual way isn't any too much, and as for hardly seeing your husband, well, he needn't be a Socialist for that to happen; I know one or two that are out every night and never come home sober, or lose all their money gambling; that's a little worse than going to a political meeting, where you can go, too, if you like."

"It isn't only that, Daisy. I asked him to give up, and if he won't [illegible] shows I come second."

Then Daisy's voice echoed scornfully across the room. "Well, I always thought you were an idiot, but I'm sure now. Jim thinks he's on the right track; and his sense of regret won't allow him to give up his principle. That will do me, when a man is always true to his principle, he'll be true to his wife; you can bet your life; good-night, I'm off to sleep."

But somehow, Alice couldn't sleep that night. Daisy's words had been much the same as Jim's. "I believe it's right, and I'm going to stick to it," and she felt rebuked, although she hardly knew why.

Time passed on, Daisy still toiled hard, but Alice had the misfortune to get out of work, on account of some paltry fault, and for some time was obliged to spend her time tramping all over the city to try and obtain some other billet. Daisy, who had first listened to the Socialists from curiosity, had now begun to take an eager interest in the movement, and often tried to inoculate Alice with some of the elementary faults, especially as the latter, to console herself for Jim, had taken to walking out with another young man, who liked nothing better than to abuse the Socialists, and boom up the Labor Party.

"I think I'll marry him," she said one night, "I can't get work, and I want to get out of this."

"But you don't love him."

"Oh, well, he's alright, you know, and I'm tired of working for a living," but Alice's voice sounded rather sheepish as she spoke.

On this occasion Daisy, however, was much surer of her ground than before; and turned around quickly and faced her friend, shaking her hairbrush as though to emphasise her words.

"Alice Green, I'm ashamed of you; you abuse the Socialists; you've given up a good man, because he wouldn't sink his principles to please you; and now you're going to do the worst thing a woman can do, sell your body for a home; you talk about being sick of work; don't you realise that in a marriage like this, you call, exchange one form of slavery for another? That you've got to bear children to a man you don't love, and slave for him, and them, just because he gives you bread and butter. No wonder the Socialists are against such marriages; it is true they realise that the system causes them; but at least they are up against the system, and are fighting tooth and nail to abolish it. Many girls I know are forced by sheer hunger into such sacrifices, or out on to the streets; but you, out of a foolish freak, you gave up the man you loved, because he was trying to do his bit, in altering the conditions which cause such wretchedness."

By this time Alice was almost in tears, but she wasn't going to give in without a struggle.

"You are talking about marriage being slavery. Bert has a Government job, and good prospects, but yet you want me to marry Jim, whose opinions are always getting him into trouble."

"I don't expect that under the capitalist system you will have no troubles; it can't be helped if you belong to the working class; but at least you will have married the man you love, and if you both realise your position in society, then you can both work hand in hand for the cause, and your children may be saved from like misery in time to come.

"But Daisy," and Alice's voice was getting eager, "What exactly do the Socialists stand for?"

"They stand for the overthrow of the present system; you see, only that can really benefit us; the Labor Party that your friend talks so much about hasn't raised our wages, and it hasn't even bettered conditions enough to help you to get a job; girls are still marrying for homes and going on the streets from starvation. Now, when the present system is gone, and the Socialist system introduced, women will be man's economic equal, and there will be no need to marry for anything else but love, because she will be exactly in the same position as a man, and can chose who she likes. It is, of course, a short explanation, and perhaps not too clear, but if you are interested come along and listen to our speakers, you can ask as many questions as you like."

"But do they really want women, Daisy?"

"Of course, Silly; that is where so many women make a mistake. If women are going to benefit by the introduction of a Socialist system, they ought to assist in bringing it about. Many good Socialists are lost because of their wives, or sweethearts. If only women would interest themselves in the movement, and help and back up their husbands, it would go ahead far more quickly."

Alice said no more that night, but the match was laid to the train, and she began to think. What a blessing it will be when the whole of the women of our class begin to do likewise. Girls and women who entice their menfolk away from Socialist propaganda little know what they do. Why will they not think more? Socialism is going to put woman, for the first time, in her proper place, and you women, remember, if you have influence over your own men folk, you can just as soon use it for, as against Socialism. Why not let it be owing to you that your final emancipation is achieved.

After a very short time our Alice began to understand, and know, that the Socialists are right; and there was no more talk of her marriage with Bert, even although she felt the pinch of poverty very hard indeed; but through all her hardships it seemed as though fate had a few good things in store, for one night she told her chum—

"Who would have thought that I would have joined the Socialists? It's all owing to you, Daisy; and anyhow, I've made up my mind to fight the system for all I'm worth, and soon I'll have someone to help me, because I'm going to marry Jim."

Corrimal Doings

Perhaps it would interest you to hear from the Corrimal Branch that was formed by Com. Reardon on his visit here, and of which this letter is a recognition.

I must apologise for not writing before, but owing to the conscription issue and on top of that the Xmas holidays, not to mention the struggle for existence, with one combating the furies of private enterprise, one has not even time to consider, think or write anything for the collective benefit of the whole.

But, thank ourselves, we have now at least a few minutes to look around and get ready for the next move of the capitalist class and their dupes.

Now coming back to the visit of Comrades Reardon and Gay, they landed here by the 7 o'clock train on November 24th, and left the following day by the 7 p.m. train. In the meantime they had an open-air meeting on the evening of the 24th, and, of course, the burning question on that date was anti militarism. They brought before their audience clearly and explicitly how conscription was the child of militarism, and how, while ever they allowed the present system to remain, they would always be fighting against its effects, as the system is the mother of all our economic troubles and their effects, one of these effects being militarism, ultimately must follow conscription.

They pointed out, how, if conscription was carried, that the past work of the labor movement will have been all in vain, and that we would gradually sink to a lower stage of existence, for with conscription, individual action becomes a thing of the past, and ultimately must bring the masses to a lower stage of civilisation.

On the afternoon of the 25th, Sunday, Comrade Reardon lectured on "The Historical Development of Society," in order, as he said, to give his audience an insight into history, particularly working-class history, that they might the more readily understand society as it exists to-day, and thus have a better understanding of the principles of the Socialist Movement.

He took his listeners back to days of Tribal Communism, when the individuals gathered together in tribes and the land was owned in common by the tribe, and such simple weapons as the stone axe, the arrow and the spear were the only tools by which they lived. These tools were privately owned, but the product of their labor were owned by the tribe.

The group form of marriage existed in this period where a man was married to all women who did not belong to his own particular marrying group.

People in this period worked all their time; therefore, there was intellectual advance.

These conditions lasted for 100,000 years, and would have lasted till to-day, but for one thing; the industrial conditions, or to be more correct, the modes of existence gradually changed. Men learned to cultivate and to domesticate animals; thus, of course, producing new social conditions of life.

Under new modes of production, old social conditions had to give way to new, bringing society up to the days of Chattel Slavery.

Man eventually became more efficient in the cultivation of the soil, and in time the tribe could not consume their production. This was the cause of each individual demanding his own product; therefore, it became necessary for periods for each man to own his own land.

This, however, became tiresome, and was eventually apportioned for good.

Formally when tribes went to war with each other, they went to kill. The only way one could get anything out of another was to eat him, but in chattel slavery it became possible to produce surplus for a master, so in place of killing him he made him his slave.

Finally, with the introduction of slavery and production, there became a great deal more of trading between tribes which caused the more successful of these tribes to combine and ward off the attack of the more backward tribes, and eventually brought about the present class struggles of to-day between the master and his slave, i.e., the employer and the employee.

Continuing, he said, following the introduction of this new industrial and social order, there was a great surge in production, and the markets for products seemed to be unlimited, and it must have seemed to the people in those days that the system would last for ever, but economic development waits on no system.

In this period, the ruling class had a duty to perform; it gave art, music, literature, philosophy, and the culture of cultivation.

But to-day they have developed into a parasite class, and a class that is retarding the development of society; a class that must be demolished for the progress of social conditions, to change with the modes of production.

So at the stage of the latter end of chattel slavery, the ruling class became hereditary castes; they became debauched and parasitic, and the working class were degraded by poverty issuing in the Feudal System.

Under the Feudal System, industry developed into trades. The people began to get skilful and gradually brought about three distinct classes. The land owners, the serfs and the manufacturing class; the latter becoming a rather considerable part of society, eventually becoming the master class. The change of industrial conditions brought about the fight between the master class and landowners. With the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the adoption of the capitalist system, the master class had their freedom to exploit the lower classes by using the already stored up wealth or surplus production to use for reproductive purposes. This gave Capital a free rein to work out its own ruin.

He drew attention here to the fact of the lack of efficiency of their trades unions; now they had been in operation for generations, the fight and the tortures their great grandfathers had gone through for the benefit of their offsprings; also why those organisations have passed their use. Capital has become international, and to defeat capital the working class must become international also.

"It is not the trade you follow, but the class to which you belong. There is nothing in common between you and the master class, the men who rob you day by day.

You must, instead of fighting as craft unions, become class conscious, link up with a class-conscious international organisation, and then we will be able to pit our strength against the enemy. Until then our case is hopeless.

You think you can gradually bring about the increased price of commodities, and that you can bring it about step by step. Your polluted politicians tell you that you are robbed in the price of your commodities; then draw your attention to the point of consumption, instead of on the field of production.

Can anyone show me, he went on, if you imagine you are gaining step by step a greater percentage of your production, how is it, after years of a Labor Government—after years of arbitration, of strikes and lock-outs—after years of hero worship, of price fixing and commodity commissions, you have lost. Where once you received 50 per cent of what you produced you only receive 17½ per cent. to-day.

We have reached a stage where the industry is becoming intensified. In America they have at present the meat trust, the sugar trust and the steel trust; men holding shares in mammoth industries of this description pray to Christ the war never ends. He referred to W. M. Hughes' speech to the Chamber of Manufacturers.

He, Hughes, pointed out to them how German commerce had entwined itself in all parts of the world, through their efficiency in commerce. How they, the commercial men of the country, must form themselves into one great commercial centre for the purpose of controlling production in this country, and also to find markets to dispose of their surplus production, and to find out the requirements of that world's markets and to produce accordingly.

Any person cognisant with these facts must know that the greater the fight for the world's markets by the capitalists, means a greater and cheaper production by the working class, which means to you longer hours of employment, more value created in the present hours of labor, or less of your production; that is, a reduction in wages.

Nothing will save you only the overthrow of the present capitalist system.

I might state here that my ability as a writer cannot give Comrade Reardon full justice, as to the impression he made on his audience; also the good work it has done for this branch.

B. LEWIS, Secretary.

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The Political Situatiom.

By A.S.R.

The political world is but the reflex of the economic conditions of society. Accepting this as being exact, and who so bold as to attempt a denial, it may be fairly concurred that the economic conditions are in a chaotic state in Australia at the present time.

That this is so will cause the student of history no surprise, for a system of society based upon the robbery and exploitation of the larger portion of the people must in time give rise to a set of conditions whereunder the "mode of production" is in direct antagonism to the method of distribution, and from then on no harmony is possible; all is discord until such times as a class sufficiently well organised comes forward, and, adjusting the method of distribution to suit the method of production, saves society from itself.

This undoubtedly is the mission of the modern working class, and to this end they will undoubtedly organise and act, that is, of course when they have a few moments to spare from winning wages and so on. Meanwhile the master class are driven to use all manner of chicanery and political trickery in order to safeguard their own position. In these circumstances it has well been observed that to-day—"politics is dirty tricks," and this is unquestionably so, in regard to the recent gyrations of that political jackanapes W. M. Hughes.

No sensible person ever gave thought to any politician's promises or ever gave a "two cent damn," whether Hughes kept his Bendigo or any other promises.

The keeping or breaking of politicians promises do not alter the commodity status of labor and anything that fails to do that, fails utterly to affect an alteration in the working class conditions.

However, the gymnastic way in which the crookback has sought to evade his former promises or "threats," is ample evidence that the ethics of the capitalist political world are about on a par with the ethics of a Woolloomooloo brothel.

During the guesswork that went on following Hughes "resignation" the hope was expressed in many quarters, that Tudor, leader of the pseudo Labor Party, would be sent for to form a ministry. Many were of the opinion that in the circumstances he might be able to carry on. That he would have been able to carry on we have no doubt whatever: but carry on what? A revolution like unto the Bolshevics of Russia? By no means, but simply carry on what the Hard Labor Party have carried on before **—The Capitalist System!** ! Support, with the armed force of the State, the Robber Class in their exploitation and impoverishment of the workers!

When the War broke out the Labor Party were in power, and as soon as hostilities started they called a conference of representatives of the Stock Exchanges and Banks of Australia, to assist the Government to draw up Australia's War Policy. These were the people whose interests were concerned. These are the real rulers of Australia, and politicians who are prepared to administer the capitalist class state can only do so along the lines laid down by their parasites.

That was the position of Hughes. That would have been the position of Tudor and as a consequence the exploitation of the workers would have gone on in the same old fashion, and must go on until not merely the reins of Political Government but the land and tools of production are in the hands of the working class.

What developments will take place in the world of politics in the near future is hard to say, but the position on the industrial field can be adjudged from recent statements of Hughes to the Chamber of Commerce to the effect that last year the war cost Australia about £80,000,000, which was, he further stated practically the equivalent of the price obtained by the sale of the wool clip, wheat harvest, meat and basic metal output for the year. The master class own the whole of these products, they also have to pay for the war out of the surplus values wrung from the workers, so that apparently last year there was not a great deal left to the exploiters after they had paid there share of the war. After pointing this out, Hughes intimated that with this end in view the Government intended to establish a Department of Science and Industry for the evident purpose of Scientifically organizing the Industries. This of course will mean that the workers are to be bled to a greater extent by a lengthening of hours, a general speeding up of production, and a reduction if possible of wages. This then is the crisis the workers have to watch and be prepared for, and immediately, too.

Beware then ye toilers, of cheap talk about Political Crises. These things affect you not. They but waste your good time. On with the good work. Organize Industrially and Politically for the overthrow of the capitalist system. That alone will elevate you from the level of commodities. That alone will assure you of the full products of your toil. Less than that is useless to **Men.** On with the good work.

Industrial Organisation.

What For?

The reason why we urge the necessity for **Industrial Unionism** in place of **Craftism** is easy enough to explain, and should be easily understood, even by people with only average intelligence. The overthrow of the present system of the exploitation and robbery of the wealth producer, and to enable our class (the only useful class in society) to efficiently direct the work of production and distribution in the interest of the producers.

The sort of One Big Union as advocated by certain labor leaders and self-styled leaders for the purpose of securing pitiful palliatives, and ridiculous reforms, as well as to enable the so-called labor leaders to drink loving cups with the boss, whilst they talk pious piffle about the **Harmony** of capital and labor, is only so much dope and has no more relationship to **Industrial Unionism** (as advocated by Revolutionary Socialists), than the chief of the Solomon Islanders has to Plato.

Revolutionary Industrial Unionism is for the purpose **principally,** of completely removing the cause of the world's miseries, poverty, war, etc. (That cause is the **robbery** of the world's **WEALTH** producers by an idle parasitical class) as well as to more efficiently defend our class in the meantime against too great a brutality from the mailed fist of capitalism.

The reformists, One Big Unionism is not intended for the purpose of removing this parasitical growth from society. Its real purpose is to assist the parasitical capitalist class to more effectively administer mental chloroform to the wealth producers; to assist benevolent bossdom to put a few bits of salve and sticking plaster on our great social injuries, to put a few bandages over our gaping wounds, and a few patches on our wretched garments. Such is Industrial Unioinsm without a revolutionary basis, a mere snare and a delusion for the further injury of our class. Those so-called labor leaders who advocate One Big Union for reformist purposes only, and prate of their loyalty to the capitalist state, are nothing else but dope merchants, scribes, Pharisees and hypocrites of the deepest dye, and mental prostitutes, utterly shameless. The workers who swallow their dope have, like Paul, "been made fools." Not for Christ's sake, but for the sacred cause of profits.

As it is at the point of production, where our class is **robbed**—it is at the point of production where the initial social wrong (the **robbery** of the **wealth** producer) occurs. We maintain that our class should organise industrially to abolish the cause of this robbery, to remove once and for all time this iniquitous social system (whereby mankind is enslaved, and degraded to the level of a mere commodity) and to make it possible for the people to control their own destinies.

Only through Revolutionary Industrial Unionism can the wealth producer control the industries and their own destinies. The destiny of the whole human race is in the balance After the war things are not going to be too joyful for the world's proletariat, in fact things will be infinitely bad for the toiling masses, and infinitely worse for the millions of unemployed.

The glorious proletaire in all lands will do all the doing and all the doing without, and will be done on all sides by bowelless and unscrupulous robberdom.

Capitalism, in search of new markets, will penetrate to every possible exploitable corner of the earth, and with the ever increasing wealth of robberdom will come the greatly increased wretchedness of the robbed; there will be no end to the atrocities which the ruthless exploiters of our class will be guilty of. Then indeed will the cry of the bludgeoned, plundered, outraged, proletaire arise by night and day.

So we should begin in earnest to prepare our forces for after the war days and conditions. It is surely time for the working class to shake off some of its lethargic stupidity and build up revolutionary organisations on the political field as well as in the industrial arena, capable of meeting and combating these conditions when it arrives.

We must work ceaselessly for the abolition of class, not for terms from the exploiting class; not for the transfer of privileges; not for reforms and palliatives, but for the control in the interest of all, of all those huge productive forces built up during the 19th century by the capitalist class.

Such results will not, cannot be won by sentimental ideals of Freedom, of Brotherhood, by such words as Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, but by Organising on a Revolutionary Basis, to take over and control those economic forces which are the foundation of social life.

Only when the world's proletaire gains control of these economic forces, the tools of production and machinery of distribution will the present wage slavery be abolished, giving place to an environment of mutual help, and happiness, and the world be freed from a system which has been proved guilty of the foulest crimes and hypocrisy and most ghastly injustice it is possible for even the mind of the foulest fiend to conceive of.

To the workers of the world we say: Think and reason, and organise, and so help to build up that great revolutionary industrial force, the army of occupation, which is to take and hold the means of life, a force against which the armed forces of international robberdom will be as a bamboo wall against a tropical tornado, and against which the dark forces of capitalism will melt "like snow upon the desert's dusty face."

Think, reason, organise, and help to bring about the conditions we are striving for. Then you will not have to worry about the threat of victimisaton, of Beeby garnishees, of Fuller-Holman evictions, or a bob or two a day as a potential murderer of your class in other lands or in the streets of your own cities.

Then for the first time in history it will be **humanely possible** for you to live in peace with a right to the pursuit of happiness and "a little room to love and live."

MILLICENT HOLLYWOOD.

The Monarchy and Principle.

From the revolution of 1688 down to the present time, the people have been gulled by expedients. Seldom have they been taught the value of principle, that without principle there is neither freedom, nor truth nor justice. Expedients, at most, are only partial in their operations, while principle is and must be universal in its application. **As was well said by St. Just more than a century ago: "Those who make half revolutions but prepare their own graves."** See the result of preferring expediency to principle: For more than two hundred years, general apathy and general want of confidence. It could not be otherwise. Expedients, however successful, can benefit only a few. The priest, the prince, the peer, know the value of principle. They accept no compromise. The people have yet to learn its value. You cannot rouse a strong national enthusiasm by promising benefits to a few. You cannot create a great national feeling by partial measures. You cannot organise an all-powerful movement apart from high and lofty aspirations, and these can rest only on the principle of justice and freedom for each and all.

To-day the attitude of the church and the glorification of institutions of barbarous origin and whose great attraction is the barbaric splendour of their saturnalia, mark the progress of the reaction. It is killing government by representation. It will sweep away all obstacles. It is prepared for all contingencies. The reaction in the Church dates from the close of the eighteenth century. The reaction in the State from 1850. The reaction is not merely English, it is European. To talk of measures of expediency at times like the present is like the child playing with his toys while the burglar clears the house.

To the reaction or the revolution belongs the future. And the triumph of either means the extinction of opportunism. Between the reaction and the revolution there is war—war to the death. Compromise will never be accepted by either. **In 1850 W. J. Linton wrote: "Monarchy or the Republic, these two principles embrace every form of government. By the word Republic we mean the direct sovereignty of the people—of the whole people, making their own laws and governing themselves." Again, "The monarchical principle is the right of usurpation, the right of a fraction of humanity to usurp the sovereignty which belongs only to humanity as a whole."** Let us take our stand on principle, raising ourselves far above the mere whims and caprices of individuals, and a national movement, with all its essentials, will be possible. To-day the Church and the Crown are triumphant. It is a fact we cannot ignore. All the facts around us bid us quit for ever the enervating regions of compromise, and raise ourselves upward, moving ever onward to the conquest of all that is true and pure and just. Let's such be our task to-day. Let us prepare for this conquest, before it be too late. The reaction or the revolution which shall it be.

As royalty is to-day the great idol and the glory of England, let us turn for a moment to Hanover and its Electors. The first Elector of Hanover was Ernest Augustus by name, and he married an English lady, issue of James I. Though Augustus went about with his elbows out, he had been a bishop before he became Elector. At the beginning of the eighteenth century England was in the greatest peril. She was threatened with a terrible disaster. The revolution of 1688 had placed the Whigs in power. The Stuarts could no longer be tolerated. With the dawn of the eighteenth century it was necessary to settle the succession. After discussing the question for some time, the Whig Government found nothing better than that the daughter of the "Winter King" contained the requisite quantity of the true royal blood of James I., therefore the throne of England must go to the "Winter King's" daughter and her heirs for ever. In 1714, George, Elector of Hanover, was called upon by the Whigs to fill the throne of England. He was a low, brutal fellow, to whom moral restraint was unknown, but he was good enough for the English throne. He was guilty of at least one murder. But in a prince that is nothing. The following lines from **Shakespeare ("Tempest,"** ii., 2) fit the case: "What have we here? A man or a fish? Dead or alive? A fish; he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell, a kind of, not of the newest, Poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in England now (as once I was), and had but this fish painted, not a holiday-fool there but would give a piece of silver; there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man."

Let us take a few items as to cost,

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THE MAN AT THE WHEEL.

Ah, the man has grown old at the wheel that he turns!
See! Life's candle is melting, how wanly it burns;
But the man at the wheel must turn on, day by day,
For the system demands that he labor away!

He has ground—oh, so many blunt axes and ploughs;
He has given his brawn 'till there's seams in his brows;
He has toiled in the sun and the cold and the rain,
But none of the axes were his—nor the gain!

So all of these years he has labored with pride
For food and for clothing—and nothing beside.
And now, while the demon Discharge haunts his brain,
He clings to his grindstone in weakness and pain.

And the axes he ground? They have gone through the mill,
To the owners of slaves who lives high on the hill.
God! He pours with a Pharisee toss of his head,
"See all those fellows? I give them their bread!"

Ah, the men at the wheels, growing old as they turn
Yes, Life's candles are melting. Ah, wanly they burn!
If they stop, bread will stop, so they stagger and sway
In the grip of the system that grinds them away!

—BYRON WILLIAMS.

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though this is of far less importance than the principle involved:—

After the revolution of 1688 the Civil List was fixed at £600,000, in 1697 at £700,000, in 1727 £800,000, in 1777 at £900,000, in 1803 at £960,000, and in 1820 at £1,166,000. But up to then the Civil List contained all the following charges: All the expenses of the royal family, all the salaries of the members of the Government, the salaries of our ambassadors, the salaries of the judges, and cost of prosecutions. Since then the Civil List provides only for His or Her Majesty.

From 1714 to 1816 Parliament paid royal debts amounting to £5,142,795. Truly the House of Hanover has been a costly figurehead.

William IV., whose Civil List was really £351,000, was not noted for anything particular. He was known in certain circles as Silly Billy. In keeping up the character of the royal House of Hanover, he left seven bastards, who were provided for by being placed on the Pension List at £200 each. In 1837 the Civil List of the late Queen was fixed at £385,000, but in 1888 the cost of the royal family was £1,071,876. In 1880 the country had to pay £11,000 for travelling expenses for the royal household.

We have still the royal family of Hanover, though we have not the kingdom. In 1835 there was the great Orange conspiracy, embracing the Church and the Tory Party. The conspiracy was a very formidable one. Its aim was to prevent the daughter of the Duke of Kent coming to the throne. The Bishop of Salisbury was to be Grand Chaplain to the insurgent army. Within five years both the two great political parties prepared for a bloody revolution. With the consent of the Whigs, the Duke of Cumberland took the kingdom of Hanover, and then the daughter of the Duke of Kent came to the throne.

It is not the man or the woman. The monarch may be a good man, he may be benevolent, he may be even perfect from a moral standpoint; and what then? It is not the man, but the principle, the institution. In 1858 I wrote ("**Popery: Its Supporters and Opponents**"): "**What is Monarchy? What is it in principle and in practice?** In principle it is usurpation; in practice it is tyranny without disguise. In principle it is an insult to intelligence; in practice it is at war with morality and justice. In principle it arrogates to itself the chief attributes of the Deity; in practice it robs man of his rights and dooms him to slavery. Like Popery, it is of barbarous origin, and its great attraction lies in the barbaric splendour of its saturnalia. It breathes an atmosphere of corruption, and lives on the weaknesses and follies of the human race. **Throughout the world the throne and the altar make war on mankind.** See them everywhere warring against the growing intelligence of the age, against science and philosophy, against history and morality, against justice and liberty, and the fraternity of nations."—"Hereditary Institutions," from John Sketchecy's "Political and Social Movements."

Economics the Basis of Society.

II.—The Law.

By J.M.G.

In capitalist society, the real interests of the workers is to rise in revolt against the system. This morality supports the capitalist class by a fiction; that is, whilst appearing to allow the workers to follow their own will, it gives the mental kinks that compels them to give their adherence to a system that is in opposition to them as a dispossessed class.

Whilst this morality is sufficient to keep the majority in subjection, a minority in all phases of societies have never been bound by moral suasion. To deal with the minority the law intervenes, imposing penalties that are more or less effective to check any depredations on private property.

Every form of society in its onward march in civilisation has been compelled to change its laws, and bring them into harmony with the changing economic conditions which have always been the main factor in establishing the changing law codes and regulations to protect the possessing class one against the other, and declaring those criminals who disregarded them.

As the slave economy began to disintegrate, the laws that gave legal possession to the owners became obsolete, fell into abeyance owing to the economic change that gave rise to the feudal system based on serfdom. Laws that were more in harmony with the new economic conditions were formulated by the possessing class regulating the social life that sprang up, defining the status of the master class and giving sanction to the brutal treatment meted out to the serfs, with the many penalties to be inflicted upon the serfs should they not be subservient to their masters.

The new conditions of social life which developed on the breaking up of feudalism by the new methods of production, with the growth of the wage system, and the production of commodities for profit, led to the abrogation of the laws necessary under serfdom. To meet the new conditions the Roman law that served the slave economy was resurrected, and, with alterations and additions, brought into harmony with the wage system of production. That this could be done shows very conclusively that the wage workers, with their so-called freedom, are nothing but slaves to the possessing class.

A very cursory examination of the laws on the statute book during any period show them to be not the cause of the social relations but have their roots in the economic condition, are the restraints, in fact, imposed by the possessing class, who in all phases of society, as to-day, controlled the political machinery, and were thus enabled to give sanction to codes and legal regulations that give expression to their own economic domination.

These laws are not, as apologists for this and past phases of societies would have us believe, the result of heaven born geniuses or inspired legislation, or racial characteristics giving expression to the national conscience; but are clearly efforts on the part of the possessing class to regulate the social life, to perpetuate the system of the exploitation of the masses. Laws are enforced by the material forces of the State, at the point of the soldier's bayonet, the policeman's baton, and through the servile sycophants on the judicial bench, as the workers in all countries have found to their cost when giving expression to their discontent with prevailing conditions by going on strike or other ways.

That laws are and were designed to give stability to the existing form of society is unquestionable. It is only necessary to quote laws such as that of inheritance, safe guarding to descendants the control of accumulated wealth. Again the law of contract between individuals. The law regulating the relations between master and workman, laws that are designed to place the workers at a disadvantage in any claim they may make in the law courts against the master class. And last but not least the criminal law that brands as criminals those who have the courage to rise in protest, or do anything of an aggressive nature against the sacred right of property.

Laws are thus clearly the product of the economic system prevailing in any phase of society designed to assure those in possession. They are administered by the paid hirelings of the possessing class, whose interests being bound up with that class renders them always amenable to the master class, and willing to distort the law, if not sufficiently clear, and give an interpretation that will be favourable to their masters.

To the student of present and past societies it is clearly demonstrated that those who held the economic power control the political machinery which enables them to enforce their will upon the masses. The economic power came first, giving force to the Revolution that placed the political machinery with the State in the control of the economically dominant class, enabling them to make those laws that regulated the conduct of the master class in their social relations to each other. And giving force to those class made laws that are designed to keep the majority in subjection to, as it is to-day, a parasitic minority.

It is thus seen that even the law is not stable, but is ever changing to conform to the changing economic conditions that have prevailed in the past. So our present economic conditions will pass away, and with them the class-made laws, giving place to a form of society free from class and the degrading conditions inherent in any form of society founded on classes.

—"The International," South Africa.

Craft Unionism.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

Speech Delivered at Chicago, November 23, 1905; Revised by the Author and Re-issued October, 1909.

The "Industrial Workers of the World" mentioned, has since changed its name to the "Workers' International Industrial Union."

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE).

The most important fact in all the world for workingmen to recognise is the class struggle. The Industrial Workers expresses economically the interests of the working class in that struggle. The Industrial Workers declares that there can be nothing in common between the exploiting capitalist and the exploited wage-worker; that there is inevitably a struggle between them, and that this struggle cannot end until the capitalist class is overthrown, and the wage-system wiped out. Then and then only can there be an end to class rule.

Now, if you are a working man and if you believe that you have an economic interest in common with that of the capitalist who employs you, remain in the old trade union. That is where you belong. If that is your conviction we do not want you to join the Industrial Workers. You do not properly belong to us. You do belong to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organisations. But, if you believe as I believe, that the working class have economic interests of their own, separate and apart from and in conflict with, the economic interests of the capitalist class, then you should, and sooner or later will have to, sever your relation with the old trade union, and join the Industrial Workers, the only union organised upon the basis of the class struggle.

And now, let me ask, have we a class struggle? The answer comes of itself. This struggle finds expression daily, hourly, in strikes, in boycotts, in lockouts, injunctions, riots, assaults and bloodshed. It is not an unmixed evil, however, for in this great world-wide class struggle that is shaking the foundations of civilised society everywhere, there are being wrought out the most important problems of our modern civilisation.

The working class are in an overwhelming majority. They have the numbers. They ought to have the power. And they would have the power, if only they were conscious of their interests, as a class.

Every effort is put forth by the exploiting capitalist to prevent workingmen from seeing the class struggle. The capitalist insists that there is no such struggle. The editor in the employ of the capitalist echoes "no class struggle." The teacher, professor and the minister, all of them dependent upon the capitalist for the chance to make a living, agree that there are no classes and no class struggle. In unison they declaim against class agitation and seek to obscure class rule that it may be perpetuated indefinitely.

We insist that there is a class struggle; that the working class must recognise it; that they must organise economically and politically upon the basis of that struggle; and that when they do so organise, they will then have the power to free themselves and put an end to that struggle forever.

Now, have not the workers, especially here in Chicago, had sufficient experience during the last few years? Have they not been defeated often enough to demonstrate the inherent weakness of the old trades union movement? Haven't they been enjoined by the courts often enough? Clubbed by the police and flung into jail often enough? Haven't they had experience of this kind enough to open their eyes to the fact that there is a mighty class struggle in progress, and that there will never be any material change in their condition until they unite their class in every department of industrial activity?

Speaking for myself, I was made to realise long ago that the old trade union was utterly incompetent to deal successfully with the exploiting corporations in this struggle. I was made to see that in craft unionism the capitalist class have it in their power to keep the workers divided, to use one part of them with which to conquer, and crush another part of them. Indeed, I was made to see that the old form of unionism separates the workers and keeps them helpless at the mercy of their masters.

Object lessons are presented to you every day in the week. You have hundreds of thousands of workers organised in Chicago, in every conceivable kind of union, and under the direction of an infinite variety of leaders. I will not say that these leaders are all incompetent or corrupt. That would not be true. But many of them are corrupt, and in that capacity have it in their power to betray and sell out the workers who trust them. In this position the workers will remain—where there is no hope for them—so long as they cling to the out-grown old trade union and its inefficient methods. We have had the proof of this over and over again. Take all the great strikes that have occurred in Chicago during the last few years. Have any of them been successful? Have they not uniformly failed?

The capitalists have not entirely stamped out the defeated unions, that is true. They have the power to do this in the hour of the workers' defeat, but they refrained from doing it, because they are shrewd enough to know that if they destroyed those unions, another better one would take their places. Is it not a fact that they had the butcher workmen absolutely at their mercy, and could have compelled the members to entirely withdraw from the unions before giving them employment? They did not crush the unions out. When they had conquered they were satisfied. They had driven the unionists back to their reservations and they were perfectly satisfied that they should build up again along the same old lines.

The Employers' Association had the striking teamsters completely at their mercy, and could, had they seen fit, have utterly crushed out their union. They did not do it. In the closing part of the negotiations the settlement hinged upon the alleged privilege of the teamsters wearing union badges, and this the Employers' Association finally conceded; and then the claim was put forth that the striking teamsters had come out victorious. The truth is that they lost everything; but the employer was not anxious to crush their organisation. He knew very well that if he did a stronger one would spring from the ruins; that a crushed union at least teaches workingmen to see its inherent defects.

The employer is shrewd enough to know that when you totally crush our craft organizations you drive the workers into solidarity.

The teamsters were entirely defeated, nothing left; and yet the leaders boasted that they had saved their organization. It reminded me of the dispatch once sent from a field of battle by a general who had been completely routed: "There is nothing left but honor, and d——n little of that!"

It is true that there are some employers who are supposed to be entirely opposed to unionism, even the old form of trade unionism. But the great majority of capitalists, especially

Continued on page 4.

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CRAFT UNIONISM

Continued from Page 3.

the shrewder, far-seeing ones, unqualifiedly approve the pure and simple labor union. And now let me show that between these two sections of the capitalist class there is, after all, no vital difference with regard to the trade union movement.

C. W. Post, president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, and David M. Parry, president of the Manufacturers' Association, who are opposing the American Federation of Labor, have repeatedly said that they are not opposed to trade unionism if it will confine itself to its legitimate functions. In other words, they are not opposed to trade unionism if it does not antagonise the capitalist class. That is their position. Now, what is the position of the great body of capitalists who avow their friendship for the trade union movement? Precisely the same. They are in favour of the trade union as long as it does not menace or attack the capitalist class; that is, as long as it doesn't do anything; and in its present shape it is not doing anything; and that is why the capitalists are not opposed to it. Let these trade unions unite to-morrow; let them declare in favor of waging this fight along the lines of the class struggle, and they will soon find out whether these capitalists are in favor of trade unionism or not.

The very fact that the great majority of capitalists favor trade unionism proves that it is doing little or nothing for its members. Were it really doing something for them it would be antagonising the capitalist class, and that class would fight it. But the capitalists are not fighting the pure old brand of unionism; they have, in fact, formed an alliance with it and the union is the silent partner in the firm.

You have all doubtless heard of the Civic Federation. This federation is supposed to be fair and impartial. It is organised for the one purpose of dove-tailing the interests of labor and capital, and every member of this body insists that these interests can be harmonised; that there is no necessary conflict between them. That is what Mr. Gompers says; that is what Mr. Mitchell says; that is what Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Potter say, and that is what they all say—that there is no necessary conflict between capitalists and wage-workers. If there be no necessary conflict between them, it follows that all the fighting that is going on must be unnecessary. I suppose then that that ought to be very easily eliminated.

A gentleman named August Belmont presided over this harmonising body. Not long ago, in an address, he claimed that there was no better trade unionist in the country than he, and he proved it during the Interborough strike, in the city of New York, when several thousand union employees of that corporation of which he is president, went out on strike because they were driven to that extremity by his pernicious policy. He proved that he was a loyal trade unionist when he employed James Farley, a notorious professional strike-breaker and his army of Hessians to take the places of his former employees. Just a little while after Mr. Belmont had thus defeated his employees and disrupted their unions, he met at the hospitable banqueting board of the Civic Federation with the national officers of the American Federation of Labor, and its allied unions, and there made good his claim that he was a true trade unionist of the old school.

Do you think that a labor leader who is absolutely true to the working class could sit at such a banqueting board with such a capitalist as Belmont? Do you think he would be the guest of such an organisation as the Civic Federation, whose only purpose is by subtle schemes to reduce the trade union movement to harmless impotency?

It is for this and this alone that the Civic Federation has been organised. This is its real mission. The American Federation of Labor has fallen within the fatal influence of this emasculating alliance, and has thus proven that it is not organised to advance the true interests of the working class.

The American Federation of Labor is now holding its annual convention in the city of Pittsburg. What are its delegates doing there? Simply passing the same old resolutions. Once more they are going to petition Congress to enact an eight-hour law. They have done that over and over again, and their petition has been as repeatedly pigeon-holed. They have also resolved to petition Congress to restrict the powers of capitalist courts in dealing with labor. They have done that time and again, and what have they gained by it? Absolutely nothing. No attention has been paid to these servile supplications. They have been disregarded, thrown aside, treated with contempt; but the delegates solemnly meet in convention once more to pass the same hoary resolutions, to introduce the same stale petitions, with the same inevitable results. Now, is not this a perfectly stupid procedure? Are these men incapable of profiting by experience? Do they not by this time understand the nature and essential functions of capitalist-class government? Can they not see that we have a capitalist class Congress, and capitalist class legislatures, elected in every instance by an ignorant working class, kept ignorant, designedly, in the name of unionism, and with the aid of the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class? And that it is the very height of folly and depth of humiliation for a committee of the working class to beg the representatives of the capitalist class to legislate in the interests of the working class?

They were elected to serve the masters. And they are serving them. And we have no right to find fault with them—at least, those of us who are responsible for their being where they are.

Now, we who have organised the Industrial Workers have had enough of this kind of experience. We have quit the old unions. We have organised the Industrial Workers for the purpose of uniting the working class—the whole working class. Not only the skilled workers, not only those who are favored, but the working class, skilled and unskilled, male and female, in every department of activity, are united upon the principle of Industrial Unionism.

(To be continued).

A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

IPSWICH BRANCH.

We are standing on the threshold of another year, fraught with potentious consequences for the working class I say portentious advisedly, because the workers are doped into a feeling of security, occasioned by their recent success in the conscription referendum, and secondly, the workers are neither educated or organised sufficienty to withstand any further onslaught and economic pressure which will be brought to bear upon them.

I read with interest the Mt. Larcom Branch report of December 22. The word "Prussianised" was used figurately. I plead guilty to the charge without intent (Mt. Larcom Branch viewpoint), and "dips me lid."

Some time ago I suggested, as a branch resolution that the name be changed to International Socialist Party of Australia. One reason of many why the S.L.P. and the A.S.P. should unite under that title is this—Unity would give us the opportunity of waging a stronger attack effectively against the capitalist class. Say, for instance, a levy of 3d per month per member be adopted as a fund to maintain or help to maintain three organisers, to lecture and organise branches wherever possible throughout the three States, Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria. Each organisers to take up special and separate lines.

As our membership and strength increased so also our activities. Collections obtained at meetings addressed by organisers go into fund for that purpose; besides literature would get into the hands of people hitherto untouched.

I venture to predict that in four years' time we would have the main industries of this country won over for industrial unionism. So, comrades, be up and doing. Educate, organise. Let that be our New Year slogan.

Yours for Emancipation,

P. STALKER, Secretary.

Brisbane St., Ipswich.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

On Sunday, 13th January, the lecturer for Sydney Branch's Hall failed to put in an appearance, and Com. Reardon stepped into the breach, giving a short lecture on "Taxation."

Before the lecture, Miss Cogan, who is down on a visit from Broken Hill, entertained the audience with a recitation, entitled, "An Episode from the Commune," by Victor Hugo.

We also received a visit from a comrade who belongs to the Canadian Socialist Party, and who is also staying in Sydney.

He was prevailed upon to take the platform for a short time, and to give a short account of affairs in Canada. How the master class had foisted conscription on the workers of that country, and of the means they used to do it. He also pointed out that the great stumbling block to the workers' progress was their national spirit: as the capitalists had organised internationally so must the workers, before their conditions could ever be materially improved.

Comrade Reardon, in his lecture on "Taxation," emphatically stated that the workers did not pay taxes, and that the problem of taxation was one that need not trouble them. He proved by the fact that as the workers only received sufficient for mere subsistence, that it was impossible for them to pay for anything, beyond their food, clothing, and shelter.

This statement, of course, provoked discussion, and an interesting evening was spent.

Comrades and friends are reminded that the Friday night dance is in the capable hands of George Lorimer, and that there is still room for more on the floor.

MARCIA REARDON,
Secretary.

The Australian Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

Objective.

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests begets a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, some section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

Political Action and the State.

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, judicial and coercive forces, which is directed by parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class defeats the workers on the industrial field. Finding themselves in conflict with the State, the workers are forced to find political expression for their economic organisations.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

As to Unionism

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the employers. The evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised labor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production.

The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit on the industrial field.

The A.S.P. therefore endorses the 1916 preamble of the W.I.I.U.

As to Historical Materialism.

The A.S.P. pledges itself to the materialistic interpretation of history, which asserts that the transition from one system of society to another, as in the past, from primitive communism to chattel slavery, from chattel slavery to feudalism, and from feudalism to the present Capitalist State, has been the result of new and improved methods of production.

All the institutions of any period of society are moulded by the prevailing economic conditions. The religious, juridical, educational and social institutions, therefore reflect the interests of the dominant class. Thus these institutions and their ideology bolster up the capitalist system, thus forcing the A.S.P. to attack them.

As to Militarism.

The A.S.P. declares itself uncompromisingly hostile to all forms of armaments and militarism, recognising that the armed forces will be used to buttress up capitalism, and to hold down the workers. The A.S.P. further recognises that the energies of the working class can be better utilised in building up their industrial and political organisations, which shall finally render war impossible, as such organisations by international affiliation and alliances between the working classes of all nations will be the chief guarantee of the peace of the world.

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whosoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

CORRIMAL BRANCH.

D. Lewis, Main Street, Corrimal, Secretary.

IPSWICH BRANCH

P. Stalker, [illegible] Brisbane Street, Ipswich, Secretary.

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47 Victoria St., Melbourne.

Library and Reading Room for members.

Lectures held every Sunday Evening.

Economic Class every Wednesday evening.

Visitors welcomed.

MT. LARCOM

Secretary, Chas. Jacobson, Mt. Larcom, via Gladston.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall: Hatte's Arcade, King St., Newtown.

Library for Members.

Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: 369 Pitt St., City.

Library for members.

Lecture every Sunday evening.

Debating class held every Monday evening.

Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.

Dance every Friday evening.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Ancient Society—Lewis H. Morgan; cloth, 6/-; posted, 6/3.

Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover, 6d.; posted, 7d.

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IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

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